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**The Aegean Islands and the Breakdown of the Mycenaean Palaces
around 1200 B.C.**

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The Aegean Islands and the Breakdown of the Mycenaean Palaces around 1200 B.C.

Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy

The collapse of the Mycenaean palaces and of their cultural and organizational achievements brought about the turn of an era. The first complex polities and states of Greece, as well as the highly advanced civilizations associated with the Minoan and Mycenaean palaces came to an end. They soon fell into oblivion and became a matter of Greek myths. However, the disasters at the close of the 13th century B.C. (archaeologically at the end of LH IIIB) did not spell the end of the Mycenaean Age. The civilization of the post-palatial period (in archaeological terms LH IIIC) remained Mycenaean in character. But it was an illiterate age, lacking in the higher arts, crafts and intellectual achievements. On the other hand, the same post-palatial age of Greece brought about a fundamental reorganization of social, political and economic systems, as well as the gradual transformation of the Mycenaean cultural heritage into a constituent element of the Early Hellenic (or Early Iron Age) civilization of the Greeks (cf. Deger-Jalkotzy 1991 and forthcoming; Rutter 1992). Destruction levels, changes in settlement patterns and evidence of population movements which mark the archaeological records throughout LH IIIC (Kilian 1985; Vanschoonwinkel 1991, deuxième partie) seem to indicate that this process was by no means an easy one.

These observations can be aptly illustrated by the evidence of the Aegean islands. Considering the subject of this symposium we confine ourselves to those islands which are situated between the Greek mainland, Crete and Cyprus. Depending upon the respective geographical positions, they had either shared the cultural developments of the mainland from Middle Helladic into Mycenaean times, or else they had, by LH IIIA at the latest, passed from the Minoan into the Mycenaean sphere of influence. During the Mycenaean palace period the islands of the central Aegean ranked among the provinces of the so-called "Mycenaean periphery".¹ Except for some local variations e.g. of Cycladic architectural design or of the so-called "Rhodo-Mycenaean" LH IIIA2-IIIB1 pottery style (Furumark 1941, 10, 540-1; Benzi 1992, 7-9), the inhabitants of the islands had thoroughly adopted the Mycenaean lifestyle and followed the stylistic developments of the Mycenaean centres of the mainland. Whether or not this decisive cultural impact can also be taken as a clue that the Mycenaean palace centres exerted political control on the Aegean islands remains a matter of scholarly dispute (for a concise discussion see Schallin 1993, 173-4). Certainly the geographical distance from the mainland has to be considered. According to the new Linear B documents found in the Kadmeia, southern Euboea was under the sway of the Kingdom of Thebes in LH IIIB (Aravantinos 1987). It is difficult to think of a similar situation in the case of the

¹ The dichotomy between the culturally, economically and probably also politically predominant Mycenaean palace polities and the Mycenaean provinces without palaces was one of the negative aspects of the Mycenaean palace system of the 14th and 13th centuries B.C. (Deger-Jalkotzy 1996). It has recently become customary to look at this dichotomy in terms of "centre" and "periphery" as outlined e.g. by Rowland et al. 1987 or Bilde et al. 1993. In 1994 a symposium was held at Lamia on the "Mycenaean Periphery" where an attempt was made to define the meaning and the characteristics of this "periphery" (proceedings forthcoming).

Cyclades (cf. Schallin 1993, part III; Vlachopoulos forthcoming), let alone of Kos or Rhodes. On the other hand, the longstanding experience of the islanders in seafaring and overseas trading, as well as the utility of the island harbours to the requirements of long distance trade and overseas expeditions must have been as instrumental to the great Mycenaean powers as they had formerly been to the Minoans.² There is, moreover, no evidence that any island polity could have been on a par with the leading palace states.³ We may therefore visualize the political conditions of the Aegean islands in terms of small independent polities who were under a strong Mycenaean influence and like other parts of the "Mycenaean periphery" acknowledged the economic⁴ and political predominance of the palace states.

During the late 13th century B.C. the Mycenaean world was threatened by the early symptoms of the impending collapse of the palace system. A first series of destructions at the end of LH IIIB1 (or IIIB Middle) led to the strengthening of fortifications and to other safety measures (Kilian 1985, 74-5; 1988, 133; Vanschoonwinkel 1991; Shelmerdine 1987). During LH IIIB2 (or IIIB Late) further destructions caused the end of the citadel of Gla (Iacovides 1989, 30 fig. 5, 256-8; Kilian 1988, 133) and possibly of the palace of Pylos.⁵ Other centres managed to carry on (Kilian 1985, fig. 1:a and b. A destruction during LH IIIB2 preceding the final catastrophe at Thebes is reported by Aravantinos forthcoming).

There is, moreover, evidence that international relations were impaired after LH IIIB Middle. In particular, regular contacts between Greece and the eastern Mediterranean were drastically reduced (Sherratt 1980; Cline 1994, 11).

Similar to the situation on the mainland, LM IIIB Crete was also afflicted by destructions during the later course of the 13th century B.C. (Kanta 1980, 324-5; the late LM IIIB and the LM III C periods of Crete were extensively discussed at the 1994 Athens meeting on LM III pottery, see Hallager and Hallager (eds) 1997). It should be further noted that in western Crete the so-called "Barbarian" handmade burnished pottery already appears in late 14th and continues throughout 13th century B.C. contexts. It is clearly related to contemporaneous pottery classes of southern Italy (Hallager 1985a and b; Watrous 1992, 182-3).

"Barbarian" pottery does not occur in mainland Greek contexts until the destruction levels of the palaces at the end of LH IIIB2. It occurs more generally in habitation levels of LH IIIC Early.⁶

It may safely be assumed that the inflictions at home and the efforts of coping with them, as well as the disruption of international contacts and, even worse, of international trade routes led to the weakening of the economic and political power of the Mycenaean palace states during the final decades of the 13th century B.C. The Linear B documents found in the ruins of the palaces give evidence that resources were running short and that the palace organization was on the decline (Sacconi 1985; Shelmerdine 1987; De Fidio 1987).

Archaeologically this state of affairs is also demonstrated by the termination of the remarkable uniformity

² The economic interests of the Mycenaean palace states certainly also extended to mineral resources and to the agricultural potential of the islands (as can be seen from the Linear B texts from Thebes concerning Euboea, see above).

³ The so-called megaron at Phylakopi has been interpreted in terms of a "base for control of a Mycenaean province in the islands" (Barber 1981, 9) or at least as the adoption of a Mycenaean architectural fashion by a local chief (e.g. Schallin 1993, 175). But there is no architectural, organizational or literary (e.g. use of the Linear B script) evidence which would justify a characterization of the building at Phylakopi as part of a Mycenaean palace.

⁴ See Cline 1994 *passim* and 106 for the predominance of the Mycenaean palace centres in long distance trade, and *ibid.*, 9-23 for the small numbers of orientalia and occidentalia found in island contexts during LH IIIA-B.

⁵ The LH IIIB1 date postulated by Popham 1991 is perhaps too early, since the pottery of Pylos does exhibit some late LH IIIB features (cf. Schachermeyr 1976, 150-1; 264-5). But a date of destruction at about the same time as Gla seems fairly plausible.

⁶ Until now, handmade burnished pottery of LH IIIB2 contexts has only been reported from Tiryns (Kilian 1979, 404; *idem* 1981, 180). For a comprehensive treatment of the ware see Pilides 1994.

of lifestyle, spiritual expression and skills which had characterized the civilization of the 14th and 13th centuries throughout the Mycenaean world. This phenomenon for which the term of "Mycenaean koiné" has been established was another consequence of the predominance exercised by the Mycenaean palaces vis-à-vis the minor polities. In LH IIIB2 the styles and fashions created by the palatial workshops were no longer copied throughout the Mycenaean world. In terms of pottery styles, the hallmarks of the LH IIIB2 pottery used in the palaces were absent from the ceramics of the other Mycenaean provinces (Schachermeyr 1976, 261-7; Sherratt 1980; Dietz 1984, 112).

The world of the Mycenaean palace period had thus already considerably changed before it was shaken to the ground by the disasters which occurred at the very end of LH IIIB.

It goes without saying that the Aegean islands, closely linked to the interests of the great powers as they had been, could not have been left untouched by the vicissitudes of the period after LH IIIB1. It is, however, difficult to understand how the sequence of events on the Mycenaean mainland correlates with the history of the islands during those crucial years.

In Euboea the site of Lefkandi-Xeropolis was completely cleared of earlier remains and a new settlement was built in LH IIIC Early. The evidence also points to a considerable increase in population which has led the excavators to the conclusion that refugees arrived in Euboea in LH IIIC Early (Popham and Sackett 1968, 22-3). In LH IIIB the settlement had probably been less extensive, and its history during the final stage of that period is not known (Popham and Milburn 1971, 346-7). In any case, the plan of the LH IIIC settlement took no regard of its predecessor(s). During the LH IIIC period the stylistic developments of the pottery, as well as the building phases and destruction levels of Lefkandi kept in line with many mainland regions, particularly of the Peloponnese.

The archaeological data of other islands tell a different story. Melos had been firmly under Mycenaean influence since LH IIIA when a megaron-type residence was built in the time-honoured town of Phylakopi and the island's civilization was formed by that of the Mycenaean koiné (Atkinson et al. 1904, 55-6; Renfrew 1978).

During the 13th century B.C. the old fortification system of Phylakopi was extended (Renfrew 1985, chapter II). Penelope Mountjoy has dated these works to LH IIIB1, on the basis of two diagnostic sherds which in my opinion point towards the end of LH IIIB Middle (Mountjoy 1985, 159 and fig. 5:5; Renfrew 1985, 401). In other words, Phylakopi took safety measures at about the same time when such measures were taken on the mainland. The fortification of Phylakopi now ran along the West Shrine which was of an earlier date. Still in LH IIIB, the East Shrine was added, thus creating a double sanctuary which was situated next to the city wall. Comparisons of this architectural compound with the twin temples at Kition and with Near Eastern parallels have often been put forward. They have, however, not found the agreement of the excavator of the Phylakopi sanctuary (Renfrew 1985, 412-3).

The sanctuary of Phylakopi was destroyed when pottery of LH IIIC Developed was common. It cannot be excluded that this destruction was caused by human action (Renfrew 1985, 378-9). Roughly contemporaneous destruction levels were observed at Paros-Koukounaries, Lefkandi, Tiryns and Mycenae (cf. e.g. Deger-Jalkotzy 1994, figs 2 and 3). It therefore appears that Phylakopi escaped the fatal destructions at the end of LH IIIB2 but fell a victim to a later wave of destructions.

The pottery found at Phylakopi does not reflect the LH IIIB2 conventions of the mainland. Instead, the features of LH IIIB1 were developed into a local decorative system which was employed until the time when the site was abandoned (Mountjoy 1985; Renfrew 1985, 403). The isolation from the mainland pottery developments was relieved when influences from LH IIIC Early and Developed pottery were adopted by the Melian artisans (Mountjoy 1985). Minoan pottery elements are absent, and so is "Barbarian" handmade burnished pottery.

The evidence of the sanctuary at Phylakopi also testifies to an independent development of the island after LH IIIB1. It represents a remarkable blend of Minoan and Mycenaean elements which seems to anticipate the cult equipment of mainland Greek and Cretan sanctuaries, particularly of the later phases of LH/LM IIIC (Renfrew 1985, chapter IX). The excavator of the Phylakopi sanctuary therefore rightly stressed the possibility

that the evidence of Phylakopi reflects the emergence of a new general Aegean cult practice which thereafter spread widely and persisted until the end of the Aegean Bronze Age (Renfrew 1985, 439-40). It may be added in front of this audience that several elements of this 12th century repertoire were transferred to Cyprus at the transition from LC IIIA to LC IIIB (Deger-Jalkotzy 1994, 23-4).

Interesting links with the eastern Mediterranean are provided by two bronze figurines in a smiting pose and by a little head in sheet gold. It is possible that these objects had been brought to Phylakopi in LH IIIB and were faithfully kept in the sanctuary (Renfrew 1985, 302-10, esp. 309). If so, they would be even more interesting in view of the "smiting" figurines found at Mycenae and Tiryns (for references see Renfrew 1985, 306). They could then serve as an indication that objects of Near Eastern origin or at least inspiration did reach some provinces outside the palace states. On the other hand the LH IIIC find context of the Phylakopi figurines may just as well mirror the date of their arrival in the island, regardless of when they had been made and brought to the Aegean.

As stated above, the sanctuary of Phylakopi collapsed in LH IIIC Developed. A short-lived and shabby reoccupation of the site did not outlast the same period of LH III C Developed. The sanctuary was thereafter abandoned. Unfortunately, there is no concrete evidence for the date of the end of the town and the "megaron" of Phylakopi. Fragments of some pictorial vases were found by the old excavations and indicate a date during LH IIIC Middle (Atkinson et al. 1904, pl. 32:11-12, 16-17). Renfrew may, therefore, be right that the "megaron" and the shrine were destroyed at the same time (Renfrew 1985, 401-2). There is no sign of a later LH IIIC occupation of the site.

The destruction date of Phylakopi was shared by the fortified site of Koukounaries on Paros, situated on the west coast of the large Naoussa bay on the NW side of the island. On top of the hill, a multifunctional architectural complex was built and fortified by means of successive lines of fortification walls. The excavator maintains that what he calls the "megaron" and the fortification lines were built simultaneously in the framework of a common project. That is to say that the people who came to settle here were not a headlong gang of desperate refugees. They came as an organized group which was led by a chief. Moreover, the material culture of this site, as well as the luxury items found in the large storerooms, testify to the fact that those who held sway here were familiar with Mycenaean governmental structures and with a residential style of life. Demetrius Schilardi firmly holds that the founders of Koukounaries came from some palatial centre on the mainland (for a synopsis see Schilardi 1992).

It is not easy to tell when the settlement was built; definite LH IIIB pottery has not so far been published. A date in LH IIIC Early would seem plausible (Koehl 1984, 218-20; Schilardi 1992, 631). The pottery, like that of Phylakopi, shows a distinctly local treatment of shapes and motifs which were derived from LH IIIB1 conventions. If the settlers of Koukounaries had really come from a mainland palace centre, the pottery should display a LH IIIB2 pedigree. An alternative explanation could therefore envisage a population group which came from the Cyclades, particularly in view of the new evidence from Grotta on Naxos (see below). Perhaps they even came from elsewhere in Paros. In contrast to the ceramics of Phylakopi, the pottery of Koukounaries also displays some Minoan influence (e.g. Koehl 1984, figs 2:1, 4:3 and 6:4; on trade connections with Crete see Schilardi 1992, 634). The fortifications of Koukounaries came to a violent end at about the same time as Phylakopi, in LH IIIC Developed (Koehl 1984; Schilardi 1992). Apparently Koukounaries was conquered and destroyed after a siege. Human and animal skeletons were found in the debris (Schilardi 1992, 631). As at Phylakopi there was a modest and short-lived reoccupation of the site. It was eventually abandoned at an early point in LH IIIC Advanced (Schilardi 1992, 634-5).

A third Cycladic island may have had a similar fate. On top of the Ay. Andreas hill of Siphnos an impressive circuit wall with eight towers was discovered (Philippaki 1973, with references to earlier excavations and finds). Barbara Philippaki claimed that it has to be dated to LH IIIB (*Ergon* 1977, 139-44). Too little pottery has been published for judgement about this matter. However, among the sherds which have been found in the area within the circuit, the fragments of a closed vase should be dated to LH IIIC Early or Developed (*Ergon* 1976, fig. 122). The site was therefore occupied at the same time as Koukounaries. However, what has been left of its architecture resembles more closely a site of refuge than a residential place.

In Naxos both settlement and tomb evidence of LH IIIC has been found. The coastal site of Grotta saw a drastic decline during LH IIIB and particularly in LH IIIB Late.⁷ It appears that Naxos, too, was affected by the troubled conditions at the end of 13th century B.C. The site recovered in LH IIIC Early (personal communication from Dr. A. Vlachopoulos) and blossomed in LH IIIC Advanced when the Mycenaean settlement was enclosed by a fortification wall (*Ergon* 1984, 74-9; Lambrinoudakis and Zapheiropoulos 1984, 314-29; *idem* 1985, 164-6). It is to this phase of the town that the Haplomata and Kamini tombs relate (Kardara 1977; Vlachopoulos 1995). Clearly Naxos then was one of the cultural and political centres which characterize the map of Mycenaean Greece during LH IIIC Middle. The warrior burials of Kamini and Haplomata (Haplomata T. A.: Kardara 1977; Kamini T. A.: Zapheiropoulos 1960, 330 and fig. 1), the great number of valuable burial gifts and the message transported by the famous seal found in T. B. of Haplomata (Kardara 1977, 6-7 and pl. 6; *CMS* V, no. 608) bring into line the social élite of Naxos with the military aristocracies and the belligerent petty kings or princes who held sway at the political centres of the time (cf. Deger-Jalkotzy 1991, 64-6; *idem* 1995, 375-7). The people of Naxos entertained a wide network of exchange of goods which can be traced even at far inland sites like Elateia in central Greece.⁸ Cultural interchange, however, seems to have been kept within the archipelago and adjacent coastal areas. Particularly close relationships prevailed with Crete and with Ialysos on Rhodes (see e.g. Schachermeyr 1980, 137-42; Barber 1981, 12-13; Vlachopoulos 1995 and forthcoming).

A sizeable potter's workshop excavated next to the fortification wall (*Ergon* 1984, 76; Lambrinoudakis and Zapheiropoulos 1984, 327-9) testifies to the local production of octopus stirrup jars and of high quality vases of the so-called "White Ware", appreciated by Schachermeyr (1980, 181-2) and which were found in considerable numbers in the tombs of Kamini and Haplomata.

The lack of evidence from the Dodecanese precludes, at the present state of publication, an assessment of what happened there at the end of the Mycenaean palace era.

In Rhodes there is no settlement evidence relating to the period under discussion. The tomb evidence has been studied by C. Mee, S. Dietz and M. Benzi (Mee 1982; Dietz 1984; Benzi 1992; see also Schachermeyr 1980, 93, 145-6; Sherratt 1981, 298-344). A dramatic decrease in LH IIIB burials has been observed in the Ialysos and other cemeteries of the western coast (Mee 1982, 87-8; 1988, 56-7; Benzi 1988b, 64-6). This evidence of an apparently large depopulation cannot be compensated by the slight increase of LH IIIB pottery found at inland and south-eastern sites of the island (Dietz 1984, *passim* and esp. 111-14; Benzi 1988b, 65-67; 1992, 215-16). Mee therefore arrived at the conclusion that Ialysos and other sites on the north-west coast were destroyed (Mee 1982, 88). But in view of the fact that no settlement has been excavated in this region, other explanations are also conceivable. In any case, the marked decline in the use of the cemeteries seems to indicate that people for one reason or another withdrew from a region which had previously been a prominent province of the Mycenaean Aegean.

In south-eastern Rhodes habitation continued. Pottery found in tombs at inland and coastal sites has been classified as LH IIIB Late (Dietz 1984, 113-14; Benzi 1992, 216). These vases betray no features of Mycenaean mainland LH IIIB2 pottery but carry on with the local traditions and with the stylistic conventions of LH IIIB1. In fact, some may have already been of LH IIIC Early date (cf. Dietz 1984, figs 39, 42 and 56; Benzi 1992, tav. 139:g-i, 146:d-e and 154:a-c). Of this LH IIIB Late or IIIB/IIIC transitional pottery we single out a deep bowl from Lachania (Benzi 1992, tav. 171:f) whose decoration resembles that of two much-debated bowls from Pyla-Kokkinokremos (Karageorghis 1990, fig. 5). Since this Cypriot site was established and abandoned during the

⁷ I am very grateful to Dr. Andreas Vlachopoulos for allowing me to make use of the information which he kindly gave me on the chronology of the Grotta settlement. After his study of the Kamini tombs (Vlachopoulos 1995) he is now working on further materials from Mycenaean Naxos.

⁸ Connections between Naxos and Elateia have been pointed out by K. Demacopoulou (pottery, steatite necklaces) and E. Alram-Stern (figurines) at the Mycenaean Periphery Symposium at Lamia (see note 1).

transitional LC IIC/IIIA period (Karageorghis 1990, 7-10), the Rhodian parallel is perhaps not without interest to chronological studies.

Statistics of the number of tombs and burials of LH IIIC lead to the conclusion that in LH IIIC the population of Ialysos increased again (Mee 1982, 89-90; Macdonald 1986, 126-32; Benzi 1988b, 67-70; 1992, 216-22). Although the pottery of LH IIIC Early still displays a continuation of the LH IIIA-B developments (see e.g. Dietz 1984, fig. 38; Benzi 1992, tav. 139:l-n, 148:h and 154:c. These stylistic survivals of LH IIIB have been stressed by Schachermeyr 1980, 93-4; and Sherratt 1981, 300-06), it also shows affinities to the LH IIIC Early pottery of the central Aegean and particularly of the Peloponnese (Benzi 1988a, 253-6). There are good parallels with pottery of the second and third phases of Peloponnesian LH IIIC Early and of Lefkandi Ib (see e.g. Benzi 1992, tav. 30:d-e, 170:a, d-e, 171:b, d-e and 175:d-e), while a conical cup with monochrome interior (T.64/6, ascribed by Benzi 1992, 368-9 to the initial phase of LH IIIC at Ialysos) would date in mainland terms to LH IIIC Developed (Lefkandi 2a, cf. Popham and Milburn 1971, 340). It may therefore be assumed that the pottery of LH IIIC Early at Ialysos was inspired by constant contacts with the central Aegean throughout LH IIIC Early and Developed. That the population increase of Ialysos in LH IIIC Early has been ascribed to the arrival of newcomers from the Aegean (Mee 1982, 89-90), is therefore not surprising and, indeed, seems very plausible. M. Benzi objected to this interpretation and ascribed the population influx in north-western Rhodes to a nucleation of the island's inhabitants (Benzi 1988b, 70; 1992, 224-5; see also Macdonald 1986, 149-50; Dietz 1984, 115). However, pottery of LH IIIC Developed has been found in the tombs of SE Rhodes (Karantzali forthcoming⁹). The jug no. 2 and the crater no. 4 of Passia T. 4 dated by Dietz to LH IIIB exhibit decorative features of LH IIIC Developed (see Dietz 1984, 100-04 and figs 37 and 43), and of LH IIIC Late date (Karantzali forthcoming; Dietz 1984, 114-15). Moreover, the pottery development of SE Rhodes differed from that of Ialysos (Karantzali forthcoming; Dietz 1984). In short, while it cannot be excluded that many inhabitants of Rhodes concentrated at Ialysos because this harbour site offered good economic opportunities, it could not have been the only reason for the sharp rise in the re-occupation of the Ialysos tombs. Nor should the favourable conditions offered by the Lindos area for habitation and for overseas activities be underrated. Clearly there is an urgent need for more evidence.

By LH IIIC Middle (Advanced) the population of Ialysos had increased to five times as many as during LH IIIB (Macdonald 1986, 126-32). The rich burial gifts of the LH IIIC Middle interments at Ialysos testify to the fact that Rhodes fully participated in the prosperity of the period. A distinctive pottery style emerged the famous highlights of which are represented by the splendid octopus stirrup jars (Schachermeyr 1980, 145-6; Macdonald 1986, 132-8; Sherratt 1981, 310-12; Benzi 1992, 218-20). Valuable objects were found in most tombs (Benzi 1992). Special attention has been drawn to Cypriot bronze mirrors and Cypriot stone mortars (Benzi 1992, 182, 206) since they were of contemporaneous manufacture. More clearly than other objects of east Mediterranean origin which were made earlier than the 12th century B.C. (for scarabs, seals and glass objects see the relevant parts of Benzi 1992) and whose LH IIIC contexts at Ialysos could also be explained otherwise, these mirrors and stone mortars attest to the renewal of contacts between Rhodes and the eastern Mediterranean during the 12th century B.C. By contrast, some objects of supposed "northern" origin which were admitted as at least slight evidence for Italian/central European connections of the Rhodians (cf. Macdonald 1986, 139-40) have been called into question by M. Benzi (1988a, 259-60; 1992, 223). International connections extended to many regions of mainland Greece and of the central Aegean, while closer cultural and presumably also economic exchange was entertained with Crete and Naxos (Mee 1982; Macdonald 1986; Benzi 1992).

Given the lack of settlement evidence, and in view of the fact that only very little information is available about the exact position and chronological units of the objects found in the tombs, nothing can be said about the

⁹ I am most grateful to Dr. Efi Karantzali for putting at my disposal the manuscript of her paper which she gave at the Mycenaean Periphery Symposium at Lamia 1994. Dr. Karantzali has kindly allowed me to make use of this information.

socio-political conditions which may have prevailed in Rhodes during LH IIIC Middle. Very interesting is the evidence put forward recently by Dr. E. Karantzali that the characteristic Octopus Style of Ialysos was not introduced into SE Rhodes (Karantzali forthcoming; see also Dietz 1984, 115). In view of the fact that the region of Lindos is also situated very favourably for overseas activities, a separate development of this area could be of significance for the history of the island.

The history of Kos appears to have been different from that of Rhodes. In the first place, there is no evidence of depopulation in LH IIIB, although the number of pottery imports declined and most of the tombs of the Eleona and Langada cemeteries were impoverished (cf. Mee 1982, 88). This record is not surprising in view of the disruption of connections between mainland Greece and the countries overseas, and in view of the generally deteriorating conditions of Late LH IIIB to which reference was made earlier. Unfortunately, the stratigraphy of the settlement site at the Serraglio is less than clear (Morricone 1972-73, 388-96). Although C. Mee was able to extract some evidence of a LH IIIB destruction from the excavation report (Mee 1982, 88), there is no certainty as to what happened at the close of LH IIIB. In any case, continuous habitation is indicated by the pottery sequence of the tombs and by the pottery found at the Serraglio settlement. Due probably to the lack of contacts with the pottery production of the main Mycenaean centres, the late LH IIIB pottery of Kos continued with the local traditions of LH IIIA and IIIB which subsequently were handed down to the LH IIIC Early period (cf. Sherratt 1981, 300-06), not dissimilar to the developments in SE Rhodes (Dietz 1984, 115 stressed this point). Alongside with these "survivals" the LH IIIC pottery of Kos increasingly adopts new features that mirror the renewed contacts which the people of Kos entertained with external regions. These contacts reached their pinnacle in LH IIIC Middle. As was to be expected, relationships with Rhodes and Kalymnos predominated and have induced many scholars to treat the islands of the Dodecanese as an entity (see e.g. Sherratt 1981, 298-344). Against this Macdonald pointed out that Kos had a closer relationship with Perati than Rhodes, whereas connections with Crete and Naxos are less prominent than in the case of Ialysos (Macdonald 1986, 143-7, 149-50).

Another difference between Kos and Rhodes can be seen in their respective long distance connections. Whereas Cypriot and Levantine objects found their way to Ialysos, the burial gifts of the cemeteries of Kos included objects of "European" origin (for a summary see Macdonald 1986, 145-7). They were either brought directly from the regions west and north of Greece, or else transmitted through some Aegean intermediary (cf. Harding 1984; Bouzek 1985). In the latter case the close pottery connections between Kos and Perati (Macdonald 1986, 144-5, 147ff.) may prove meaningful. F. Schachermeyr further drew attention to various parallels of shapes and decorative patterns between the flamboyant pottery of LH IIIC Middle found at the Serraglio settlement (see Morricone 1972-73, figs 366, 372, 374-377) and ceramics from western Anatolia and Cyprus (Schachermeyr 1980, 148-52). It is difficult to appreciate this suggestion as long as the chronology of Miletus has not been clarified and as long as no settlement evidence is available from Rhodes. In any case, contacts between LH IIIC Middle Rhodes and LC IIIA Cyprus are attested by the finds from the Ialysos tombs, as already noted.

Among the "European" objects found in Kos the Naue II sword and the spearhead of Langada T. 21 stand out (Morricone 1965-66, 137 and figs 122-125). They have been dated to LH IIIB Late (Mee 1982, 88-9). It is, however, unfortunate that the precise context of these weapons within the tomb has not been reported. It is true that Langada T. 21 contains vases of LH IIIB, and the sword belongs to the early development of the Naue II type. On the other hand, the stirrup jar no. 72 (Morricone 1965-66, figs. 126, 128) and the feeding bottle no. 265 (*ibid.*, fig. 126) would also seem to fit a LH IIIC Early context (see e.g. Iacovides 1969 fig. 77ß:142 for shape and body decoration of the stirrup jar; Mountjoy 1986, fig. 179 for the feeding bottle). The stemmed bowl no. 69 (FS 306) cannot be LH IIIB in date. Even if the illustration of these vases is not satisfactory, a LH IIIB date for the "warrior burial" of Langada T. 21 is not completely watertight.

Be that as it may; apart from the "warrior burial" of Langada T. 21, the cemeteries of Kos altogether contained a fair number of weapons - doubtless a response to the troubled conditions of the LH IIIB Late and the LH IIIC periods. The sword and the spearhead of T. 21 were not the usual equipment of a Mycenaean warrior.

But the fact that the sword was “killed” seems to imply that its owner had been a person of importance. In this connection we further mention a few sherds of craters from the Serraglio settlement (Morricone 1972-73, 359-60 and figs 356-358). They show warriors whose fantastic headgear again does not look like Mycenaean helmets. Some of them resemble the “feathered” helmets of the Philistines. Moreover, these warriors stand out by rowing a galley. In my view, it is futile to discuss the question whether or not these representations refer to the notorious Sea Peoples who were a menace to the eastern Mediterranean at that period; the evidence is simply too scanty. Instead, the point may be stressed that these warrior-rowers were considered worthy of being depicted on ostentatious pottery, seemingly an indication of their elevated social status. Military prowess on foot, in a chariot and at sea was one of the qualities which were expected from social and political leaders of LH IIIC Middle (cf. Deger-Jalkotzy 1994, 20). It therefore seems likely that in Kos, too, a military élite emerged among the social groups and compared well with the rulers of the contemporary political centres of the central Aegean (cf. Deger-Jalkotzy 1991, 64-6; *eadem* 1995, 375-7). Their claim to excellence apparently was based, among other things, upon their success in maritime activities; even piracy may not have been alien to them, a situation similar to that of the Achaean raiders of a Heroic Age who were glorified several centuries later by the Homeric epics.

The social élite of Kos not only boasted of possessing weapons which came up to the highest technical standard and to the fashions of their time, but these individuals also indulged in a courtly lifestyle which is revealed by the use of luxurious vases. Their demands were probably met by a local workshop which produced a special class of flamboyantly decorated pottery. It drew its inspirations from various Mycenaean and Minoan elaborate ceramics of LH/LM IIIC Middle which were amalgamated into a distinctive local ostentatious style (Schachermeyr 1980, 143, 148-9; Macdonald 1986, 143-4). It also spread to Kalymnos (Macdonald *ibid.*). But given the lack of settlement evidence from Rhodes, it is impossible to tell whether the splendidly decorated vases found in the tombs and at the Serraglio of Kos were confined to that island, or else belonged to a general Dodecanesian LH IIIC Middle pottery class.

Conclusions

After LH IIIB Middle the inhabitants of the southern Aegean felt threatened by imminent dangers, and they took measures for security. It appears difficult not to connect these threats with the Hittite, Ugaritic and Egyptian reports on the violent piratical gangs described as “coming from the middle of the sea” or “living on their ships”. This is not the right time to discuss the thorny problems of their provenance, their ethnic identity nor their movements between East and West (see e.g. Sandars 1985; Lehmann 1985). During the 13th century B.C. their raids had become an increasing menace to the eastern Mediterranean states, so that the decline of the Mycenaean sea routes during LH IIIB2 may well have been caused by their activities. As with the pirates of all times, a favourite base for their raids seems to have been situated in ancient Lycia (Lehmann 1985, 31-2, 50-1). The depopulation of western Rhodes and the considerable amount of weapons found in the chamber tombs of Kos perhaps reflect the reaction of the inhabitants of these islands to the permanent threat of pirate raids from SW Anatolia.

When the Mycenaean mainland was first struck by destructions in the course of LH IIIB Late and, above all, when the catastrophes at the end of LH IIIB occurred, offshore islands like Euboea also were involved. Crete, too, was not spared. The Cyclades, however, escaped the first series of destructions. But insecurity was felt, as testified by the abandonment of the Grotta settlement of Naxos and perhaps of Keos, too, and by the installation of fortified sites like those of Paros and of Siphnos. The latter were built either during the closing years of LH IIIB, or else in the wake of the mainland catastrophes. Wherever their inhabitants had come from, they were people of a Mycenaean background, well organized and at Koukounaries still well-to-do. The pottery of Koukounaries also betrays a few Minoan traits. Handmade burnished (“Barbarian”) Pottery has not so far been found in the Cyclades.

Concerning the eastern Aegean we have to admit ignorance. Kos may or may not have suffered from destructions at that time. North-western Rhodes had already been abandoned during LH IIIB and was resettled

in the course of, and more frequently towards the end of LH IIIC Early. Miletus is said not to have been destroyed until some time within the LH IIIC period (Schachermeyr 1976, 192; Sherratt 1981, 358-66).

The same seems to have been true of Cyprus; the transition from LC IIC to IIIA was not contemporaneous with the end of LH IIIB in the Aegean. Reference has already been made to the deep bowls from Pylakokkinokremos and their LH IIIB/IIIC parallel from Lachania/Rhodes. Similarly the well-known deep bowls of the upper burial level of Kition Tomb 9 (Karageorghis 1974, pls LXXII:339 and 138, CLVII top right and left) may be compared with Aegean deep bowls of LH IIIC Early date. The antithetic stemmed spiral pattern of T. 9/339 is a hybrid of FM 50 (antithetic spirals pendent from the rim) and FM 51 (spirals rising from the lower part of a vase). FM 50 was most popular in LH IIIB Middle and again in LH IIIC but less so in LH IIIB Late (cf. Wardle 1973, 312). FM 51 antithetic spirals occur in Crete from LM IIIB/C onwards (cf. Kanta 1980, figs 75:5, 95:5), while mainland Mycenaean specimens date from LH IIIC Early at the earliest (Podzuweit 1987, fig. 35:8) and island parallels date from LH IIIC Developed (Mountjoy 1985, fig. 5:16 no. 225; Benzi 1992, tav. 114:h). From Miletus a LH IIIB/C specimen has been published (Voigtländer 1986, fig. 4:E). The Kition deep bowl T. 9/339 should therefore not be dated earlier than LH IIIB/C or LH IIIC Early. It should also be mentioned that spiral patterns were altogether not popular in LH IIIB2 Mycenaean decorated pottery. The decoration of Kition T. 9/138 either represents a poor version of the antithetic streamer pattern which in Crete does not appear earlier than LM IIIC Early (cf. Kanta 1997, 90, fig. 2:20, 105, fig. 4:11; Borgna (in discussion) in Hallager and Hallager (eds) 1997, 332-3; see also Schachermeyr 1979, 90-103) and on the Mycenaean mainland no earlier than LH III C Middle (Schachermeyr 1979, 157 and fig. 41). Or else, the motif is a debased version of a flower or a general floral motif which again has no parallels earlier than LM IIIC Early (cf. Borgna 1997, 279 fig. 11). The transverse strokes of the pattern remind one of the atrophied floral motifs displayed by two deep bowls from Pylos, one of which must be LH IIIC Late (Popham 1991, 316 and fig. 1) while the other one (Blegen *et al.* 1973, fig. 103:6) is perhaps of an earlier date within LH IIIC (cf. Schachermeyr 1976, 150). In short, both deep bowls from Kition T. 9 should be dated to LH IIIC (see also Podzuweit 1987).

Since the bowls we have been dealing with were found in contexts of the end of LC IIC a synchronism of the end of LC IIC and of the LC IIC/IIIA transition with LH IIIC Early of the Aegean is suggested. Stylistic comparisons between indigenous LC IIC pottery styles and Mycenaean pottery have led to the same conclusion (French and Åström 1980; Sherratt 1981; Podzuweit 1987). Furthermore it may be assumed that this was the period when the kings of Alasiya and of Ugarit corresponded about the appearance of enemy ships in the eastern Mediterranean which soon became a deadly threat to both countries (Lehmann 1985, 28-36; Yon 1992, 115-16). That is to say that while the peoples of the eastern Mediterranean and of the eastern Aegean anticipated trouble and took precautions, the Mycenaean powers of the central Aegean had already collapsed. But it does not seem likely that population movements which were caused by the catastrophes at the end of LH IIIB Late reached further than the eastern Aegean. And even there the arrival of central Aegean population groups at the very beginning of LH IIIC Early is not beyond dispute (see above for Rhodes and Kos).

At the end of LH IIIC Early and/or in LH IIIC Developed a new series of destructions afflicted many Mycenaean sites (cf. Deger-Jalkotzy 1994, figs 2 and 3). This time the islands were not spared; Phylakopi, Koukounaries and possibly Ay. Andreas were destroyed in LH IIIC Developed and abandoned soon afterwards. Evidence of destruction followed by population movements also marks the history of mainland sites at that period. The large town of LH IIIC Early at Tiryns was destroyed and subsequently rebuilt on a smaller scale (Kilian 1985, 77). Apparently part of the population left their homes. Other sites of Mycenaean Greece were also abandoned at that time (cf. Deger-Jalkotzy 1994, fig. 3). At several mainland sites handmade bunished pottery now disappeared (for a survey cf. Pilides 1994).

In the absence of literary sources it is, of course, impossible to tell where the emigrants of that period may have gone. Some groups may have arrived in the Ialysos region and contributed to a further population increase; in addition to the pottery evidence already mentioned, late Psi-figurines and wheelmade animal figurines were found in burial contexts of LH IIIC Middle and Late at Ialysos (Benzi 1992, 165-9).

It may further be suggested that the turbulence and destructions at the transition of LHIIC Early to Developed were causally connected with the cultural changes in LC IIIA Cyprus which have traditionally been explained in terms of the establishment of Aegean colonists and of an Aegean takeover in the island. Comparisons between Mycenaean and LC IIIA pottery have revealed that the early LC IIIA pottery classes already display the hallmarks of the Aegean phases LH IIIC Early and Developed (French and Åström 1980; Sherratt 1981, 224-8; Podzuweit 1987; Deger-Jalkotzy 1994 and forthcoming). In order to quote a few examples we refer to conical kylikes and conical one-handled bowls with monochrome interiors from Maa-*Palaeokastro* Floor II (Karageorghis and Demas 1988, e.g. pls CXCII:418 and CCXXXV:574) which find their counterparts at Lefkandi 1b and 2 (Popham and Milburn 1971, figs 1:2 and 4:11) and in Ialysos (Benzi 1992, tav. 175:e and 162:d). As to the LH IIIC Early character of the jugs, hydriae, amphorae from Maa-*Palaeokastro* (cf. Karageorghis and Demas 1988, pls CLXXV:297, CXCIII:498, 502, CCXLV:346), a glance at Mountjoy 1986, 139-43 will suffice. The reserved band below the rim of deep bowls with monochrome interior (Karageorghis and Demas 1988, pl. CLXX:155) is a hallmark of LH IIIC Middle (Mountjoy 1986, 178), while in Crete it has been claimed to have already appeared in LM IIIC Early (Hallager and Hallager (eds) 1997, 97, 108-9). A carinated crater found in an early LC IIIA context at Enkomi (Dikaïos 1969-71, 585 and pl. 123:14) compares well with a vase of LH IIIC Middle date from Mycenae (Mountjoy 1986, fig. 224) as far as the shape, the monochrome treatment and the narrow decorative zone between the handles are concerned. The mainland crater, however, bears a more elaborate pattern on its decorative zone and has a reserved rim. The simple running spiral pattern of the Enkomi crater and the otherwise complete coating of this vase may perhaps call for a final LHIIC Early or a LH IIIC Developed classification.

It is not possible to pin down the shapes and decorative patterns of LC IIIA pottery to a particular region of the Aegean. The experience of Mycenaean mainland, Cretan and Aegean island potters was blended into the proficiency and high quality of indigenous Cypriote pottery making (Deger-Jalkotzy 1994).¹⁰ At the same time, "Barbarian" handmade burnished pottery found at several LC IIIA sites (for a survey see Pilides 1994) provides evidence of the presence of a foreign element which was neither Cypriot nor Aegean. But it appeared earlier in the Aegean than in Cyprus.

The pottery of LC IIIA thus corroborates the testimony of LC IIIA architecture, artifacts and religious objects (cf. Deger-Jalkotzy 1994, 17). The newcomers who appeared on the scene in Cyprus in LC IIIA were people of a general Aegean provenance or alternatively people who had been acculturated at various places in the Aegean (Muhly 1984; Karageorghis 1990).

After the stormy events of LH III Early and Developed, peaceful conditions settled in. The decline and collapse of the Mycenaean palaces and the repercussions caused by the catastrophes had lasted for some two generations, generally speaking from LH IIIB Middle until the end of LH IIIC Early. The Aegean islands were inevitably involved. But the actual developments of habitation and of cultural expression were not always synchronous between the Mycenaean heartland and the Aegean islands. We have already emphasized the chronological distance between the great collapse at the end of LH IIIB in the Mycenaean mainland and the major destructions which struck several islands of the Cyclades, as well as Cyprus at a later stage.

What is also important to realize is that the breakdown of the palace system put paid to the division of Mycenaean Greece into political and cultural "centres" versus a "Mycenaean periphery". There can be no doubt that during the 14th and most of the 13th centuries B.C. the Mycenaean palaces between themselves had monopolized all matters of commerce, international relations and political predominance. Those regions of Mycenaean Greece which had not transformed their socio-political system into palace states played a secondary role. They were, moreover, reduced to the status of cultural provinces who followed the standards and fashions of the so-called "Mycenaean koiné" which in LH IIIA and IIIB emanated from the courts and workshops of the palaces. The

¹⁰ For reasons of space it is not possible to include here a presentation of and a comment on the comparative pottery tables which were shown when this lecture was given at Rethymnon. They will form part of a separate paper.

catastrophy at the end of LH IIIB not only caused the collapse of the palace states but it also afflicted the regions of the Mycenaean periphery where almost every settlement site exhibits signs of severe destruction. Some were even abandoned. It may safely be assumed that the breakdown of the "great Mycenaean powers" of the period could not remain without dramatic repercussions on the minor polities.

However, when the shock and the upheavals after the disaster had been overcome, all regions of Mycenaean Greece were free to develop their individual cultural features, e.g. in terms of pottery styles. They were also able to partake in economic enterprise and foreign relations (Deger-Jalkotzy 1996). The late (and last) Mycenaean time of prosperity and cultural flowering during the later part of the 12th century B.C. (archaeologically LH IIIC Middle) has left evidence of the fact that the people of post-palatial Mycenaean Greece had understood this chance and made use of it, even if the grand achievements of the past were not repeated (Deger-Jalkotzy 1991, 1994 and forthcoming; Rutter 1992).

The inhabitants of the Aegean islands once again were able to profit from their favourable geographical setting. Without any political interference or cultural patronage by some major powers, the islanders were able to entertain, on their own account, overseas relationships in all directions. Their harbours facilitated the trans-shipment of goods which were exchanged across the Mediterranean. The island polities and their rulers were on a par with all aristocratic governments which formed the political map of Mycenaean Greece in LH IIIC Middle (Deger-Jalkotzy 1995, 375-7). The existence of a military élite displaying wealth, aristocratic self-awareness and a sumptuous lifestyle is attested, at least, in Naxos and in Kos. Centres of major importance seem to have existed at Lefkandi/Euboea, in Grotta/Naxos, at the Serraglio/ Kos and in Rhodes, while in Keos religious activities were resumed in the time-honoured shrine at Ay. Irini (cf. Caskey 1984). It may confidently be expected that still other major sites will be discovered by future archaeological research.

The material culture of the islands in LH IIIC Middle was characterized, on the one hand, by an international spirit which was stimulated by the network of exchange of goods and of ideas. It expressed itself by the rapid diffusion and acceptance of technical innovations and of artistic inspiration which were willingly incorporated into the local production, particularly of objects of prestige and ostentation. On the other hand, the overall comparability of the artistic styles of the various island centres was counterbalanced by a marked regionalism which may have generated from a desire to create an individual and unmistakable local style (Schachermeyr 1980, chapters 8 and 9). In the islands, the Octopus Style(s) of Naxos, Rhodes and Kos/Kalymnos, as well as the Pictorial and the Flamboyant Spiral Styles of Kos are good cases in point. J. Rutter has rightly ascribed the interplay of internationalism and regionalism of the LH IIIC Middle elaborate pottery styles to the absence of a politically and culturally dominating power within the Mycenaean world (Rutter 1992; cf. also Deger-Jalkotzy 1996). Despite the uniformity which can be observed in pottery of everyday use and unassuming objects, the artistic styles of LH IIIC Middle of the islands should not be called an "Aegean koiné". Nor is this term adequate for the culture of Mycenaean LH IIIC in general.

In LH IIIC Middle again the course of events was not identical in all islands, and chronological discrepancies can be observed. The prosperous LH IIIC Middle period was inaugurated in the eastern Peloponnese, at Perati and in Euboea in LH IIIC Developed. A setback caused by the destructions at the transition from LH IIIC Developed to Advanced was soon overcome. In the Cyclades the islands of Melos and Paros (Koukounaries) enjoyed a certain prosperity during LH IIIC Early until Developed. They did, however, not survive destructions which occurred in LH IIIC Developed. The true prosperity of the LH IIIC Middle period in the islands came with the Advanced phase in Naxos, Kos and Rhodes. It certainly lasted until well within the LH IIIC Late period of Mycenaean Greece.

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DISCUSSION

Kanta: I would like to bring Crete into the picture a little bit and to offer a small clarification on pottery style as it concerns Crete. The dating of this pottery, and I mean in which stage of IIIC it belongs, depends on the beginning of the reserved band in Crete. Now, although it is not yet 100% certain, there is a good chance that the reserved band, although it does not represent the earliest Cretan IIIC, was first developed in Crete and then it was transmitted to the mainland because, during IIIC, I believe, we have a lot of give and take between Crete and the mainland. Now, when we say that, the next thing to settle is the first appearance in Crete of the antithetic patterns. Generally these go with a reserved band, not exclusively but this is true of the strata in the few places where we have good stratification. I think I have located a level at the old excavation of Kastelli Chania where we have the earliest IIIC, because it has a certain number of IIIC features, but no reserved band yet. And for reasons of internal stratification, I now think this represents the earliest IIIC at Kastelli; this is an article that has just come out in the Danish conference. Also, G. Rethemiotakis has found levels which are IIIC without the reserved band. Obviously, the reserved band belongs to the mainland first and then comes over to Crete and M. Popham suggested a long time ago that there was an influx of people who brought the reserved band and a number of other characteristics to Crete. At the same time we have a number of Cretan features which we find at a very early stage of Rhodian IIIC. I think there was a movement of people from Crete to Rhodes. The pottery case is very clear concerning a very typical category of Chania stirrup jars. At the same time there are a certain number of features which we find in Cyprus, but when they arrive is problematic. A long time I thought that the occupation of Kastrokephala was late IIIB. In view of my latest research, I think that Kastrokephala is early IIIC without the reserved band.

Jalkotzy: Thank you very much Athanasia for these comments which I have been waiting for; as I said I was referring to your studies as they have been published so far. And you may have noticed that I left out the question of the reserved band. On the Mainland it first occurred at a late stage of LH III C Early or in LH III C Developed. Now my problem is that LH III C Developed and LH III C Advanced form together the period of LH III C Middle which is supposed to have been a period of blossoming. However, at the end of LH III C Developed there occurred major destructions which mainly hit the periphery (and the islands). In this view it is perhaps significant that the pottery features mentioned by you refer to the end of LH III C Early. Another important point is the blend of Minoan traditions into all aspects of Aegean civilization during LH III C Early. Clearly this development was intensified in the course of LH III C, reaching its pinnacle by the end of the Bronze Age.

Karageorghis: I would also like to suggest the Cretan element. Less than a month ago, some of you may have heard me lecturing at Cincinatti about Mycenaean acropoleis in the Aegean and in Cyprus and, apart from Koukounaries and Ayios Andreas, Sifnos, I suggested that Kastrokephala, which Prof. Kanta has just mentioned, as well as Palaikastro-Kastri, may have been refuge places which were occupied by Mycenaean refugees. I was very much impressed by the masterly way in which you surveyed what happened between LH IIIB and LH IIIC, not only in the development of pottery styles but also in trying to associate them with "events" (within inverted commas); this is extremely helpful for us working in Cyprus, trying to explain the difference in time of the various abandonments and destructions and building of fortified outposts on the island. I missed your remark about the Pyla-Kokkinokremos skyphoi; do you date them to early IIIC?

Jalkotzy: Well, earlier than those of Maa, if my parallel from Lachania is valid, which I think it may be. The specialists in Rhodes suggest they are IIIB, and Benzi would also suggest the possibility that they are already transitional towards IIIC; I would rather place them in IIIB, so they would date to the transitional point and anyway at the time when the big upheavals had not yet reached the East; Pyla-Kokkinokremos may fall under the heading of precaution and measures of security, similar to what happened a little earlier on the mainland, thinking of Phylakopi and the fortification of the palaces.

Karageorghis: As you remember, that was my dating too, of Pyla-Kokkinokremos and the two skyphoi in particular.

Marketou: Concerning the dramatic decline in IIIB on the western coast of Rhodes, I would like to propose an explanation which will be published soon in *Atti dell' Accademia dei Lincei* where I will provide a town plan of Trianda and notes on the stratigraphy. I believe that a reason for this dramatic decline on the western coast was an extremely serious flood for which we have evidence from the excavations; a very impressive flood control system consisting of two thick walls had already been erected during the Late Bronze Age IB (LM IB), after the Thera eruption and just above the tephra layer. A similar flood control system was erected very close to the LM IB walls; I date that to the LH IIIA. That means that after the LH IIIA:1 and IIIA:2 (we do have sherds from that period) they had to abandon the site; this control system did not work and that may be the reason for this flood which is also mentioned in mythology as a town called Kyrvi. Mythologically, Kyrvi was abandoned due to that flood. That is my proposal.

Jalkotzy: I admitted ignorance as to the events in the Dodecanese. We simply cannot tell what happened. The chronology of IIIB is not clear in Rhodes, and it would be very useful if you could provide settlement evidence in the future concerning the point in IIIB at which this abandonment occurred. But, it is interesting that there is a difference between the northwest coast and southeastern Rhodes where there is continuity, at least to some extent. We look forward to your publication.